

# Latin American states show new interest in Cuba ties

### Cuba-U.S. talks on air piracy are only one sign that Havana's isolation is coming to an end, writes James Neilson.

BUENOS AIRES (Onas). — CUBA is gradually being reintegrated into the Latin American community after having been a pariah for 10 years. Throughout most of the last decade only Mexico had an ambassador in Havana. But at the end of 1970 the socialist Salvador Allende was elected President of Chile and was quick to redeem his campaign pledge to recognize Cuba. In July 1972 the Peruvian military Government of Juan Velasco Alvarado sent a full ambassador to Fidel Castro's regime. The governments of Argentina and Venezuela are expected to follow suit within a year. Ecuador and Panama are wavering.

The rise of a series of populist governments in Latin America coincided with a mellowing of Fidel Castro's policy towards the rest of the continent, and has been helped by the benign neglect of the region which characterized Richard Nixon's first presidential term. This stimulated a new spirit of independence in Latin America, and even governments well disposed towards the United States have been slipping away from Washington's sphere of influence. These countries have taken the Kissinger thesis of five major power centres — the United States, the Soviet Union, China, Japan and Western Europe, all potentially equidistant and of comparable influence — seriously, and have been energetically forging commercial and diplomatic links with Peking, something unthinkable a few years ago. Now many governments are showing interest in doing the same with Cuba.

Both Chile and Peru have found themselves in open opposition to Washington on several occasions, due to the nationalization of U.S. interests. Ecuador has shown few inhibitions against arresting U.S. fishing vessels operating within 200 miles of its coast, the area claimed by the Quito Government as territorial waters. Washington's reaction has been surprisingly mild, limiting itself to official protests and threats to freeze the funds of these countries in U.S. banks.

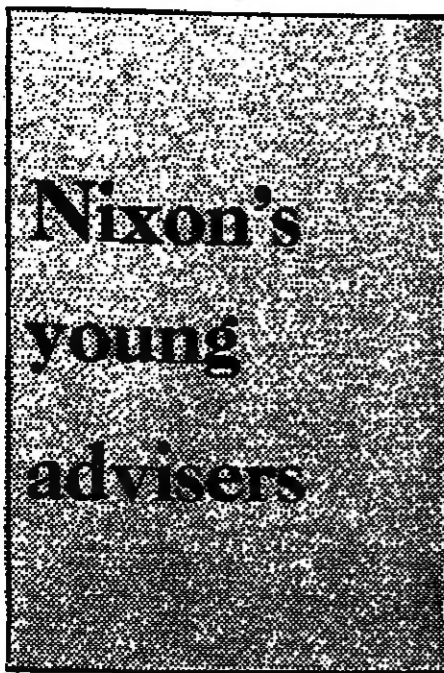
The Argentine Government's foreign policy has changed radically in the last two years. Before General Onganía was overthrown in 1970 it was one of the fiercest foes of Fidel Castro, regarding Cuba as the source of all the subversion that was causing so much unrest at home. But the present government of President Alejandro Lanusse has taken a more sophisticated line, and is well aware that Cuba's role in whipping up opposition is marginal. Lanusse is more worried by the mounting ambitions of Brazil than by the prospect of Castroite guerrillas, and has done his best to piece together an alliance with other Spanish-speaking states against the giant neighbour. This has entailed fairly warm relations with Chile and Peru.

Lanusse has also recognized Peking as the legitimate Government of China. In this context the joy attitude towards Cuba appears a strange anomaly. The Argentine Foreign Ministry, however, is well aware that powerful groups inside Argentina, especially certain military officers, are still against any dealing with Castro. The Government is therefore striving to avoid any impression of undue haste, but privately admits that recognition of the Castro regime again is only a matter of time.

As Mexico never broke off relations with the Castro Government or agreed to apply sanctions against it, the re-establishment of Argentine diplomatic ties will mean that two of the Latin American "Big Three" will have ambassadors in Havana before too long. Brazil's right-wing military regime, however, is still very reluctant to have anything to do with Fidel Castro, and together with Bolivia, also ruled by right-wing soldiers, is endeavouring to maintain the status quo.

Cuba was declared an outlaw by the Organization of American States in 1962 and, in obedience to extremely strong U.S. pressure, all member states apart from Mexico agreed to break their ties with the island. It was hoped that this would be enough to bring Fidel Castro to heel and cause him to end his undeclared guerrilla war against the "bourgeois" or military regimes of Latin America. In 1964 the O.A.S. went even further, and — with Mexico standing aside once again — applied economic sanctions against Cuba. This policy failed miserably. Western European countries were happy to trade with Castro and he also got complete support from the Soviet bloc.

Since 1964, however, the Cuban revolution has lost the romantic glow which once attracted restless young men all over the continent. Castro himself apparently realized the futility of trying to export revolution to countries such as Venezuela and Colombia. Che Guevara's Bolivian adventure ended in catastrophe. The Cuban regime now



## Nixon's young advisers



### Young people have established a substantial presence in the American political picture, and not only on the left. Fully 35 of the 60 members of President Nixon's personal staff at the White House are under 30. FWF correspondent DIANE DE DUBOVAY interviews five of them.

WASHINGTON (FWF). — Among President Nixon's White House advisers, 35 of his 60 personal staff assistants are under 30 years of age. "People think of us as Nixon's little grey men," says 24-year-old Tex Lesar, a presidential speech writer. Respected, his brown hair askew, and wearing — yes — a rumpled grey suit, Lesar is quiet, something of a "boy genius," I am told, who devours 10 books a week, fences and sails superbly, and plays chess constantly. Blushing at the description, Lesar bowed his head and looked up at me with a wry smile. "I think in the beginning White House recruiters jumped to conclusions about me," he said, "because after I graduated from Yale, I was talked into working as a special assistant to conservative William Buckley for a year. But the truth is I'm not conservative. The book we wrote together was fairly philosophical. Why am I here? It's a question I ask myself fairly frequently. I've always thought of myself as sort of an isolated, morose soul."

Raised in the Far East, where his father was a U.S. Government adviser on Far Eastern affairs, Tex Lesar was educated mainly by private tutors, with an emphasis on Chinese, philosophy, and the sciences. He also developed what he refers to as a "dangerous accuracy" in judo and karate. When his family returned to the U.S., Tex entered Yale University as a philosophy major.

His work at the White House is long — often as much as 16 hours a day, and, for a speechwriter, somewhat frustrating. "The President is very much his own man," Lesar said. "He listens to a lot of people, but he makes his own decisions, and every speech he makes unmistakably bears his own thinking and stamp. On the other hand," Lesar added, "it's rewarding to see him pick out and use even a small sentiment."

Lesar gives himself only a few more years at the White House before returning to his studies — probably at Oxford — to prepare himself for a career in anti-trust law. At present he lives alone in a spacious, contemporary apartment in a recently mixed area of Washington called Foggy Bottom.

Tall, with the clean-cut good looks of an all-American athlete, 30-year-old Stephen Gambile, who was born and raised on a farm in Florida, Illinois, and has a Ph.D. in marketing and social problems, is an adviser on President Nixon's Domestic Council. His job is to study and find solutions for national urban problems dealing with housing, ur-

ban development, the environment, and natural resources.

### Keeping in touch

Gambile has already published two books — *Marketing and Social Issues* — An Action Reader and *The Dispensive System of Food Distribution*. He taught marketing, statistics and social issues at the University of Illinois and the University of Oregon. He spent a year in Mexico as Director of the Centre for Study of Food Distribution Problems, and considered and turned down a similar offer from the Allende Marxist regime in Chile. In college he spent seven summers as a construction worker because, as he put it, he wanted to "keep in touch" with all levels of society. And he has been around the world for a large, American-based management consulting firm.

A bachelor, he shares a two-story brick townhouse in Washington's historic Georgetown with a young government lawyer. "Deep down inside," he told me, "I still see myself as a farm boy. It was a wonderful kind of life. My parents taught me to think without limitation, and I want to be in places where my life can make a difference."

Four telephones were ringing simultaneously in Mike Balsano's office in the White House. Big, bulky crewcut Paquell Balsano is the President's adviser on Muscular (Labour) affairs.

At 36, Balsano is not the youngest of Nixon's advisers. Before beginning his 10-year quest for a Ph.D. in political philosophy, he was a dustman. He also, at some time, played the Spanish guitar professionally. His father was a drill press operator. "In everything I've ever done in my life," said Balsano, "the odds have been one million to one against it. You couldn't find a stronger believer in the American system than I am. I went all through school on scholarships. You see before you a complete product of the state." Balsano describes himself as a liberal and a lifelong Democrat, who none the less shares the President's dream of reviving the flag-

ging spirit of struggle and hard-won personal achievement."

In an effort to get close to the pulse of the people and relay those feelings back to the President, Balsano now spends at least 90 per cent of his time "on the road" for the government. The demands of his job, he says, leave him practically no time at all for a personal life. It wasn't until last year that he finally got around to getting married. "I'm an intense, all-or-nothing kind of person," he smiled. "Patriotic, loyal and very romantic." Then looking at me, he added impulsively: "I probably agreed to this interview because you have blue eyes."

Sallyanne Payton is from Los Angeles. Formerly a social worker and then an attorney, she is now an adviser on President Nixon's Domestic Council and is responsible for the overall planning and federal participation in the physical development of Washington D.C. Twenty-nine years old and black, she says she does not see herself as an evangelist for the civil rights movement. Yet since 71 per cent of Washington D.C.'s population is black, inevitably Miss Payton finds herself involved in promoting minority causes.

Much of her work involves meeting community groups at night. Although a government limousine has been placed at her disposal, Miss Payton says she prefers to walk.

Every second weekend she teaches law at the University of Virginia, and she is also a member of the Board of Trustees at Stanford University, where she got her law degree. When she does have a few spare hours, they are usually devoted to music — blues and classical singing, the piano and guitar.

Unmarried, she lives in a section of Washington called Adams Morgan which she describes as the most urban and racially mixed area of the city. "We have a name-dropping problem in this town," she told me, "that can get a terrific bore." Washington men she finds "arrogant, selfish, and demanding. They've all heard about this fabled ratio of eight women for every man," she says, "and most of them expect a woman to just fall down in

front of them." Yet, she added: "When you work in a man's field, the positions are reversed, and they tend to be in awe of you."

Another Californian, pert and pretty Vicki Keller, feels that opportunities for women are wide open in Washington. "People in White House Personnel are actively recruiting qualified women," she said. With a degree in economics from the University of California at Berkeley and a graduate degree from Harvard Graduate School of Business, before White House recruiters persuaded her to come to Washington, Vicki Keller was enjoying a free-wheeling and fast-paced life in New York City, where she worked as a management consultant for five years. Now, at 29, she is chief adviser on the President's Domestic Council for problems dealing with the aged.

Asked what it is like to work at the White House, Miss Keller replied: "It is a constant series of crises and interruptions."

### 'Fate of Russian Jews in the hands of Nixon'

By SRAYA SHAPIRO, Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — The fate of Russian Jews lies in President Nixon's hands, Professor David Korn, chairman of the German-Russian Department of Howard University in Washington, said here last week.

Prof. Korn, who has visited the U.S.S.R. several times, has just ended a short visit to this country at the invitation of the National Council for Soviet Jewry.

"The Russians will concede nothing unless they feel forced to do so. They need American food. This is Soviet Jewry's chance. We, of the National Conference for Soviet Jewry, try to impress on the Nixon Administration that the fate of Russian Jews lies in President Nixon's hands," Prof. Korn said.

Much damage is being done in the U.S. by "dissidents," Prof. Korn said. Although the National Conference's work is supported by "nineten per cent of U.S. Jews," some splinter organizations act on their own initiative. "They collect money for God knows what purpose, spread unreliable information, and generally undermine the trust the American government has in our work," Prof. Korn said.

"One Rabbi in New Jersey boasts that he has collected hundreds of thousands of dollars — to build yeshivas in Russia, or what?" Some of those engaged in activity on behalf of Russian Jews are probably moved by genuine interest in the matter, but Prof. Korn has his doubts about some of the "activists."

To talk about the possibility of achieving official recognition for some sort of religious or cultural Jewish life in Russia is simply "unrealistic," Prof. Korn said.

"If the Russian authorities could, they would do it themselves in order to please the Western world at this moment. There is virtually no Jewish culture in Russia at present and the majority of Jews there are non-religious — which does not impair their attachment to the Jewish People. What they want is to live among Jews, to be relieved of the ignominious anti-Semitic remarks in school and at work, and be able to pursue Jewish national goals."

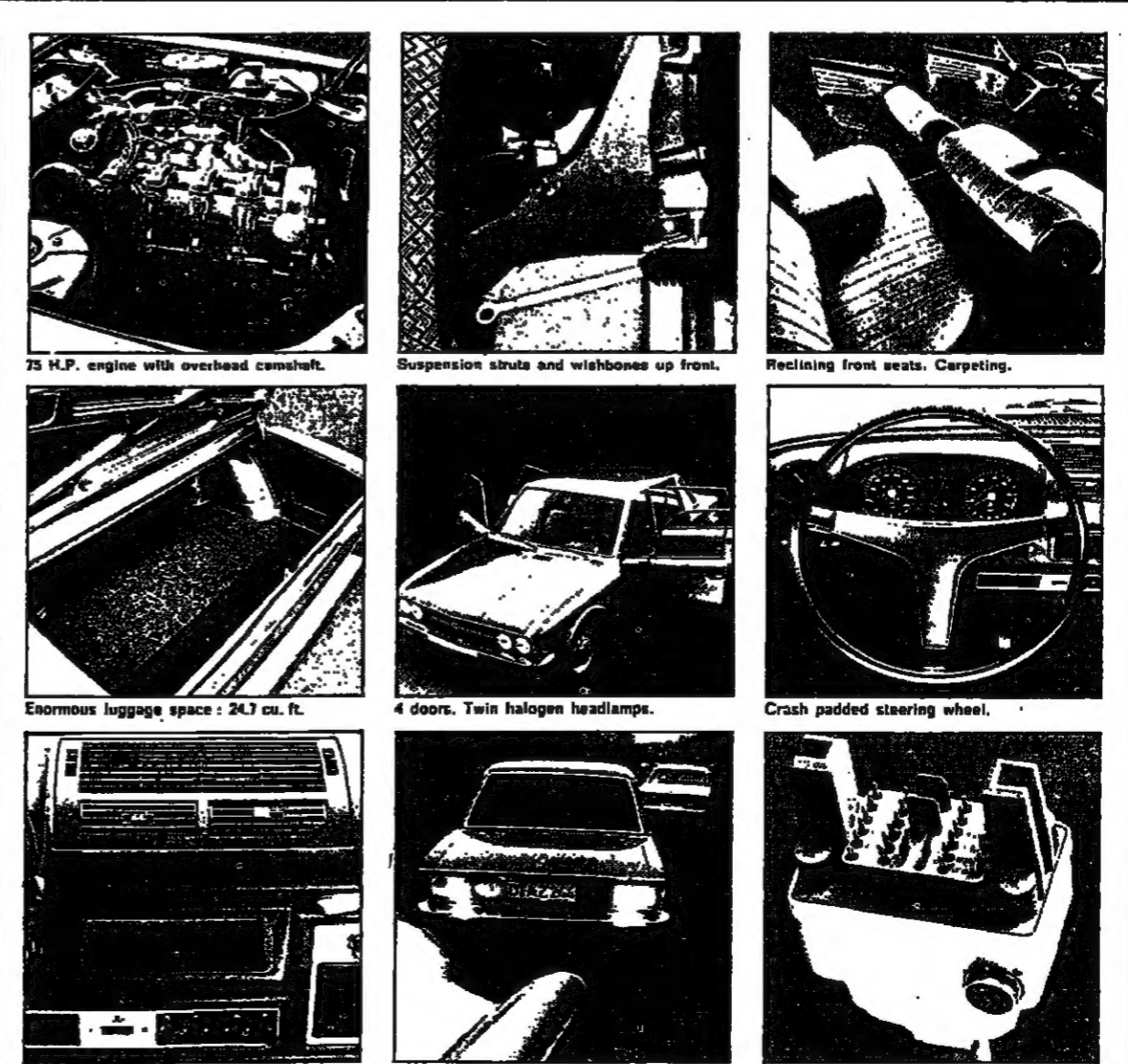
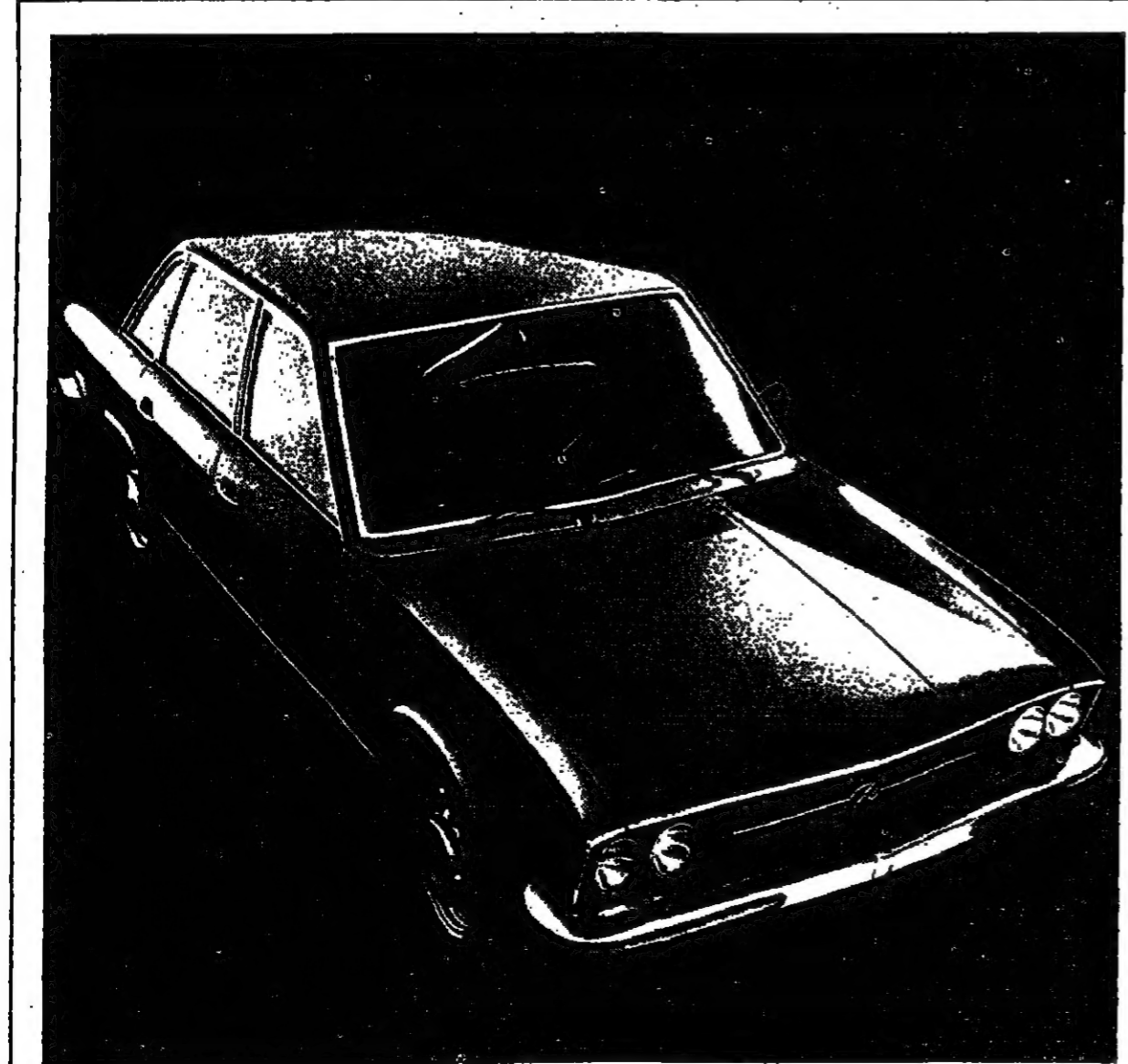
The request by some of Israel's political leaders to publish lists of those Jews who have expressed their wish to immigrate is "practically anti-Semitic," he said. The suggestion could only come from people who know nothing of the prevalent conditions in the U.S.S.R., Prof. Korn said.

He was "pleasantly surprised" at the way the Russian immigrants are received here now. "There is no comparison with, say, the lot of immigrants in 1959."

Both Chile and Peru have found themselves in open opposition to Washington on several occasions, due to the nationalization of U.S. interests. Ecuador has shown few inhibitions against arresting U.S. fishing vessels operating within 200 miles of its coast, the area claimed by the Quito Government as territorial waters. Washington's reaction has been surprisingly mild, limiting itself to official protests and threats to freeze the funds of these countries in U.S. banks.

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## BEGED OR at home in Israel...



### EXCLUSIVE

When a leading motoring magazine tested the VW K 70 along with four other cars it wrote the following words of praise: "In terms of styling the K 70 does not leave a doubt that it is the most modern design of the five cars tested."

Indeed the low waist line, the large window areas, the short overhangs and the absence of trendy chrome trimmings and fancy body work make it an unusually elegant car.

But the driving performance and driving characteristics are also pretty exclusive.

Its 75 hp front-mounted engine with overhead camshaft accelerates the car from 0 to 100 km/h in 18 seconds and gives it a top speed of some 148 km/h. Front wheel drive, MacPherson front axle suspension and a trailing arm rear axle (a rarity on front wheel drive cars) give the VW K 70 a roadholding that many sports cars would be proud of.

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Does Israel need the Market?

The widespread impression that trade is bringing Israel and Western Europe closer together does not seem to be borne out by the facts.

In 1971, the Six accounted for 31 per cent of Israel's imports, and was the market for 27 per cent of Israel exports.

Nor is the picture any different when the three states due to join the E.E.C. on January 1 are considered. Here exports have declined, due to Britain's economic troubles.

It is true that imports from Britain have increased, but that is only because of a dramatic rise in supply of raw diamonds handled by the London Syndicate.

More and more, Israel seems to be exporting to countries outside the European continent. Ten years ago, non-European markets accounted for just over one-third of Israel's exports.

The same figures show that markets outside Western Europe have accounted for much of the massive export growth in the past decade.

NEWER LINES

The table shows that while the Common Market still accounts for a major share in our traditional export lines, it plays only a minor role in the newly-developed export industries.

Table with 3 columns: Share in 1971 exports of, The Six, The enlarged Common Market. Rows include Citrus fruit, Other agricultural products, Diamonds, Food products, Chemicals, pharmaceuticals, paints, Textiles, clothing, leather, Total manufactures.

The above figures explain why the impending entry of Britain, Denmark and Ireland into the Common Market has caused great worry among citrus growers and canners, but much less so among other manufacturers.

In an article on our opinion page yesterday, Economic Editor Moshe Ater said that Israel must beware of over-estimating its negotiating strength in the enlarged Common Market — the Brussels ministers are hard bargainers. Today, Dr. Ater argues that the figures prove that the Common Market is in fact accounting for less and less of Israel's foreign trade.

At this juncture, the composition of our imports from the Common Market is also of interest.

Table with 3 columns: Share in 1971 imports of, The Six, The enlarged Common Market. Rows include Consumer goods, Consumer durables, Raw materials, Investment goods.

The figures show that E.E.C.'s position is strongest in the supply of investment goods (i.e. mainly industrial equipment) and consumer durables (the raw materials figure is inflated by raw diamonds).

ON THE HANDWAGON

The main attraction of an association with the Common Market is, of course, the prospect of taking part in its economic growth, which has been more rapid than that of most other regions except Japan.

A point of major relevance in the trade negotiations is the tariff protection currently enjoyed by Israel's industry, which will have to be dismantled for imports from the Nine.

Since this figure refers to the 1971 average, it only partly reflects the effects of the last devaluation. Current fiscal protection probably approximates IL5.50 per dollar, 130 per cent of the import's c.i.f. cost.

It is this effective exchange rate which one has to keep in mind when considering the current debate concerning the planned tariff cuts.

and the target exchange rate for our imports.

Five years ago this target rate was laid down (by the authorities) at IL5.50 i.e. 90 per cent above the then official exchange rate.

Incidentally, the Bank of Israel research department figured out that the effective exchange rate of our industrial exports (including premiums) was slightly over IL7 per dollar in August 1971.

Increase in State loan guarantees for territories

The Knesset Finance Committee yesterday approved an increase in the total of State guarantees for loans in the administered territories, from IL21m. to IL50m.

The move came in view of expanding economic activity in the territories. It will make regular commercial credit available at the accepted bank rates for such loans and release credit for purposes which demand it.

The Committee also approved an increase in the quota of guarantees for loans in East Jerusalem from IL4m. to IL5m.

Tnuva fined IL8,000 for adulterated goods

TEL AVIV. — Fines totalling IL8,100 were imposed on Tnuva and its managers in the Magistrate's Court here yesterday, for contaminated dairy products.

India plans big imports of food

By TREVOR DREIBERG, Jerusalem Post Correspondent. NEW DELHI. — The Indian Government has decided to import nearly two million tons of grain, pulses and edible oils to tide the country over the shortage of these commodities.

The Indian Government does not propose to ask the U.S. to revive supplies of wheat under Public Law 480. No imports of rice are being negotiated, but they are not ruled out under the bilateral trade agreements with Burma and Thailand.

The bill for grain imports in 1971-72 was \$165m. against \$284m. in 1970-71. Imports in 1972-73 are expected to rise to \$200m.

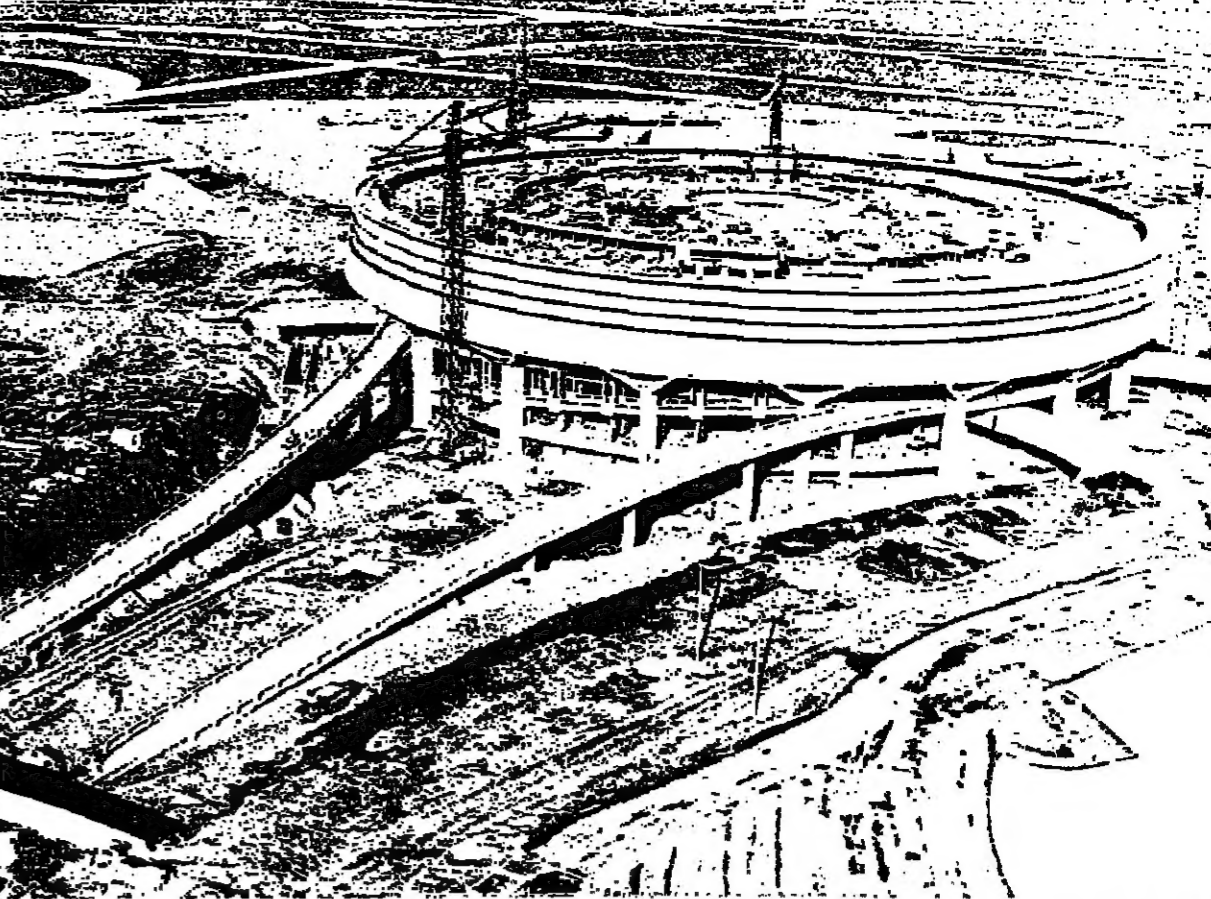
The Government has already allocated \$133m. for this purpose in the budget for 1972-73, and further allocations will be made when import deals are concluded.

Accident coverage raised for apprentices

Jerusalem Post Reporter. Work accident insurance will be doubled for all apprentices, vocational, agricultural or nursing school students, and adults taking trade courses, the National Insurance Institute spokesman said yesterday.

The new ruling will also benefit such categories as volunteer firemen and women volunteering their services to hospitals, as long as they work at least eight hours a week. People holding part-time jobs, however, will be covered and pay premiums according to their actual earnings — even if that is less than IL500.

The nominal insurance premium of IL1 for the trainees, payable by the employer or school, will be doubled to IL2, the spokesman said. The improved coverage will apply to several thousand people, he added.



The first section of the international airport being built at Roissy-en-France, 27 km. northeast of Paris, is scheduled to be opened in 1974 and will be able to handle six million passengers, aside from freight services. The airport will be completed between 1985 and 1990.

Water-cooled garb for industry workers Japan sees 6 pct. growth rate for China

By HERBERT BEN-ADI, Jerusalem Post Reporter. A fashion break-through by Israeli scientists may result in substantial savings for the metal, glass and ceramics industries.

Workers in these industries are often subjected to heat stress, when the heat input into their clothes and bodies far exceeds the heat they give off. Asbestos garments have served as an answer to the problem, but were not a satisfying one.

Dr. J. Cassuto started experimenting with water-cooled garments in 1968 at the Negev Institute for Arid Zone Research in Beersheva. His experiments were continued by a number of successors. Now 37-year-old sabra Dr. Y. Cassuto, head of the Life Sciences Department of the institute, has given the finishing touches to a water-cooled garment, which at a relatively low cost, could save the industries concerned considerable expense.

Dr. Cassuto gave three examples where the water-cooled garment would be most effective. Occasionally in some chemical plants, feeders to a reactor become blocked. Cleaning the feeder requires that it be turned off and opened. Hot sand rushes out at a temperature of 600 degrees centigrade.

In glass bottle plants, Dr. Cassuto heated spaces on maintenance. They heated work wearing asbestos suits for a very short period, and then have to rest for half-an-hour before they can continue. Dr. Cassuto calculated that five workers with fringe benefits cost a plant roughly IL60,000 per year. Without the water-cooled garment, employees work about one-third of their capacity during an eight hour working day. One worker alone, equipped with the water-cooled garment and an asbestos suit, could work continuously for eight hours, without feeling any discomfort and thus saving the firm thousands of pounds.

The suit would also benefit workers involved with high temperature kilns or ovens which need occasional repair. The water-cooled garment, Dr. Cassuto explained, consists of a cotton suit which has inside it about 10 metres of thin plastic piping through which the water circulates, keeping body temperature at a normal level. The suit can be attached to any water tap for work in a small area. Where a worker has to move long distances a small motor attached to the body provides the necessary circulation of water.

The prototype garment is available. Dr. Cassuto stated. According to him, he had little to do with the completion of it, and he is only interested in pushing the model. Those who work with him disagree, adding he had very much to do with it.

HONGKONG (ANS). — The Nomura Research Institute has predicted a six per cent growth for the Chinese economy in the 1970s, assuming a continuation of Peking's policy of self-sufficiency and a politically dictated balance in industrial and agricultural development.

The study was made before Prime Minister Kakuei Tanaka's historic trip to the mainland but the Nomura analysts believe these trends will not be substantially altered by China's recent exercises in de-ente-seeking.

Japan's most prestigious "think tank" saw China's net national product nearly doubling from \$75,000m. in 1970 to \$135,000m. in 1980 with industry growing by 8.2 per cent, agriculture by three per cent and other sectors including services by six per cent. By the end of the decade, China's industrial output will include \$930m. in iron and steel, \$550m. in machinery and \$400m. in chemical products.

TEL AVIV STOCKS

Prices rise all round as turnover soars

TEL AVIV. — Stock prices rose considerably during yesterday's brisk trading. Turnover climbed to almost IL3.3m. worth of shares, including IL1.6m. of variables.

The General Index of Share Prices rose by 0.50 per cent to stand at 284.70. Demand centred around bank and investment shares, but also moved some of the depressed land and industrial shares.

L.D.E. Bankholding rose seven points to 268.5 (124,000); the preferred shares jumped 5 to 270 (102,000). Union Bank was eight points better at 305 (8,500), and Bank Leumi was up 4 to 334, ex-rights (38,100).

In the land group, Africa-Israel gained 6 to 268 (15,900), and I.L.D.C. was up 7 points to 217, after being traded as high as 219 (43,100). Property and Building rose 6 1/2 points to 235 (31,000).

The whole bond market was down. Turnover was IL3.3m. worth of bonds. It is believed that some investors may have switched their investments from bonds to shares.

Table with 3 columns: DEBENTURES, SHARES, and LAND & DEVELOPMENT. Lists various stocks and their prices.

FIRES COST IL20M. A YEAR

Jerusalem Post Reporter. Israel is one of the safest countries in the world — at least as far as fires are concerned. This emerges from a study conducted by the Interior Ministry, which shows that the annual rate of increase of damage caused by fires is 2-3 per cent in Israel, as compared with 15-25 per cent in most other countries.

But fires still cost the Israeli economy some IL20m. a year, the Ministry spokesman said yesterday. There are some 600 firemen employed in this country, and they are called upon to answer a total of 10,000 alarms a year. The spokesman said the country needs 900 additional firemen.

Table with 3 columns: ALLIANCE - B, ELCO - IL2.5, ELECTRA, IL2, ARGENT, 3%, etc. Lists various stocks and their prices.

Table with 3 columns: ISRAEL DISCOUNT BANK LTD., ALON, DEKEL, BROSH. Lists bank shares and their prices.

SOVIET RIVALRY

China can begin to match the fast pace of the Japanese economy only if it diversifies investments from defence to more profitable economic activities. But this was not regarded as a likely development. The intrabloc rivalry with the Soviet Union is expected to continue well into the decade and the resulting tensions will demand a high degree of military preparedness.

The forecast provides for an extra 0.4 per cent increase in the growth rate if China trades more freely with the non-Communist world. The economy can grow by another 0.7 per cent if China makes use of its present "idle capacity" valued at about 20,000 million yuan.

But since China's foreign trade remains subservient to political considerations, Nomura saw little likelihood of the country really opening up. China will continue importing whatever capital goods and raw materials it needs to build up its economy along the desired lines and it will export enough goods to pay for what it buys abroad.

On the whole, Nomura gave high marks to the past performance of the People's Republic. It has averaged a 5.1 per cent growth from 1952 to 1970 despite the absence of economic aid from other countries.

Advertisement for Rothmans King Size cigarettes. Features a large image of a hand holding a cigarette and the text 'THE BEST TOBACCO MONEY CAN BUY'.

Advertisement for Habnai Street apartments. Includes a floor plan diagram and text describing a six-storey building with family-sized three and four bedroom apartments.

Advertisement for Israel Discount Bank Ltd. and Israel Homes & Real Estate Corp. Ltd. Includes financial data and contact information.

# The Chancellor's new clothes



Chancellor Willy Brandt: Ostpolitik popular, still not proved.

The West embarks on the delicate course of negotiations for a European security conference clad in little more than hopes, writes London's Economist, in this article, republished from its current edition.

IN Willy Brandt, one part of the Western world has found the sort of hero it would like the rest of its politicians to be, and they so manifestly are not. Here is a man of patent honesty who believes in the politics of good will, and who has been using the politics of good will to try to bring Europe together again. This is Europe's McGovern who can make his ideas look plausible and can win elections with them. Mr. Brandt made himself and his Ostpolitik the issues in West Germany's election last Sunday, and everything about his victory was predictable except the size of it. He earned his success by planning it; and for the next three or four years the politics of the proposed reconciliation of Europe are going to revolve around him. And yet the doubts remain, about the policy if not the man, and the start of Mr. Brandt's much more powerful second term in office is the right time to say why the doubts do persist. The trouble is that the widespread and undoubted popularity of his Eastern policy is still more a matter of expectation than of achievement. The words that are generally used to describe what it has brought about — a "relaxation of tensions," a "widening detente," a "more civilized relationship" between the two parts of Europe — in fact mean very little. They are words about mood, not about observable and measurable things actually happening out there on the ground of Central and Eastern Europe; it is not an accident that words borrowed from the Communists' negotiating vocabulary, and that the Communists like to use them precisely because they are undefinable. In terms of changes that can really be seen and measured, the balance of advantage of Mr. Brandt's Ostpolitik, so far, is plain enough. The first stage has come out markedly in favour of the governments led by Mr. Brezhnev and Mr. Honecker. The chances of this being put right in the coming second stage, the European security conference and the talks about the cutting of arms, depend upon the West's ability to push through two or three ideas against Russian opposition, and it is doubtful whether the determination to push them through exists. The emperor's clothes, so widely admired, have still to be made, and the tailor is still fumbling with the needle.

Improvements in Berlin. Of course, the first stage has brought some benefits, and it is fair that they should be recognized. The rights of traffic movement between Berlin and the West have been put down on paper, and although the case-law that previously governed the routes to Berlin had worked perfectly well for a decade it is satisfactory to have got it written down. The people who live in West Berlin are now allowed to go into the eastern half of the city, and West Germans who live in a strip of territory along the border of East Germany may now pass through the barbed wire and the mine-fields, under certain limitations, to visit a similar strip on the other side — although East Germans who hold official positions have apparently been forbidden to meet these dangerous entrants from the West. The East German Government claims to be releasing 30,000 prisoners including some political prisoners. The Soviet Government is letting go a handful of the Volga Germans who have been trapped inside the Soviet Union since 1914. Best of all, a crack has been opened in the barrier against East Germans

travelling westwards, at any rate for the minority of them who can claim "urgent family business" with close relatives — no cousins or in-laws allowed — in the West. In return for these fairly modest concessions, however, Mr. Brezhnev and Mr. Honecker have won two important points of principle. The Russians have got it more or less openly accepted in the West that the eastern half of the Continent will continue to be run by Communist governments; and they had already made it clear by what they did to Czechoslovakia in 1968, that they will decide what does, and does not, constitute a Communist government. There has been no corresponding acceptance on the Soviet side, it should be noted, that Western Europe will continue to be run by non-Communist Governments. There cannot be, since the political system in the West allows the right of Communist parties to come to power if they win enough votes. These are concessions of a different order from giving permission for rather more people to move to and fro across the dividing line. It is quite true that, as things stand in 1972, the West does not have the power to change the situation in Eastern Europe. But that is not in itself a sufficient reason for giving formal recognition, and the extra strength that goes with recognition to a state of affairs one dislikes, and would prefer to see changed, and which indeed may come to seem a lot less unchangeable with the passing of time.

Restrictions on liberty. 2) The main test of the bigger all-European conference on security and co-operation, which started to organize itself in Helsinki on Wednesday, will be whether it can do something to break down the most elementary of the restrictions on human freedom of movement. The aim should be to get the Communist governments to accept that Europe cannot possibly be called normal until its people can travel where they like, when they like. No doubt this radical departure from standard Communist practice cannot be arranged overnight. But the non-Communist governments should argue that after a reasonable time for getting used to the idea — by 1980, say — all European countries should apply the same rules for issuing passports and visas. The trouble, as anyone knows who goes to East-West meetings where this subject comes up, is that the Communist governments have no intention of talking about anything of the sort. The most they

show whether the Russians have at last given up the attempt to have their cake and take another one. If they have, it will be Mr. Nixon, not Mr. Brandt, who has persuaded them that coexistence is indivisible. The other thing that would justify accepting the permanence of Communism in more than half of Europe, of course, is for the formal act of acceptance gradually to lead to a major easing of European life. The next round of negotiations will show whether this is possible, whether the payments Mr. Brandt has made over the past two years will buy the benefits he hopes for. There are three things the Western side should be arguing for in the coming months: 1) In the talks on mutual and balanced force reductions that open early next year, the Western Allies will be trying to maintain the present balance of power, which has kept the peace for 27 years, but without either side having to keep so many men in uniform or spend so much on military budgets. The difficulty is that so far there is not even agreement about what "balanced" means, much less about the actual cuts each side might afford to make.

Yours is mine. There are only two things that could justify it. One would be for Russia to agree that this Western swallowing of realities in Europe should be matched by the Communists in other parts of the world, where they dislike the existing state of affairs and want to change it. This has always been the only possible way of making sense of the "peaceful coexistence" the Russians have been demanding for years. The trouble is that throughout all these years the Russians have gone on trying to define coexistence to mean holding on to what they have in Europe while helping their friends elsewhere to add to the territory under Communist control. The outcome of the Vietnam peace talks will

are willing to discuss in an increase in the number of officially approved groups of musicians and engineers and whatnot who are allowed to travel to the West. 3) The other thing the West should be trying to do at the security conference is to make it harder for the Soviet Union ever again to treat an East European country the way it treated Czechoslovakia in 1968. The aim should be to include in the final declaration of the conference a passage which prohibits "any interference, by armed force or other means, in the internal affairs of any signatory country by any other"; and to set up a small standing committee empowered to call the whole conference into session again if this, or any other, part of the declaration seems about to be violated. There are plenty of people in Eastern Europe who would like to see this done, including some members of the local Communist parties. But the Russians, obviously, would not; and unfortunately most of the leaders of the other Communist countries would not either, because they realize that in the last resort their power depends on the possibility of just such a Russian intervention. It will be instructive to see whether the Western delegates try to insist against these men's opposition, that this is precisely the sort of thing the security of Europe is about.

Brezhnev's ploy. The danger is that the Western countries will put up each of these subjects in turn, see them coldly knocked out of court by the Russians, and beatifiedly realize that Mr. Brezhnev has no intention of throwing away in the second game the advantage he has won in the first. And while this is happening the mere holding of the conference will be serving one useful purpose for the Russians. It will enable them and their allies to make a series of speeches in which they will say that the Cold War is over, and so there is no further need for the expensive and wearisome burden of armaments that Europeans have been carrying for so many years. In particular, they will say that the logical step that should follow the end of the Cold War is the "dissolution of blocs," which is their way of saying the removal of American military protection from Europe. These speeches will be reported in the papers in both halves of Europe; but it is only in the Western half that they will be read by a public opinion that has the power to persuade governments to cut defence budgets. The worst possible outcome of this second round of negotiations would be the discovery, one day two or three years hence, that the West had conducted a partial unilateral disarmament because its public opinion thought things were changing, but that they had not really changed at all.

Test for West. It is going to be a test of the Western countries' understanding of what is happening in this particular stage of European history. The dangers can be avoided, and the opportunities made use of, if public opinion backs up its negotiators in refusing to take no for an answer to questions about freedom of movement; in declining to disarm unilaterally; in going on talking the Communist governments that they cannot expect easy credits from the West unless they make life more tolerable for their people in non-economic ways too. If this can be done, the process that Mr. Brandt has started will indeed end as he wanted it to. It is equally likely, and probably likelier, that it will finish in a draw, with nothing much of importance lost for Western Europe but nothing much gained on behalf of Eastern Europe either. But unless the West shows more constancy than it has lately it may not even go that well; and then the judgment will be that the Ostpolitik was the beginning of a profound defeat.

## CAUSE AND EFFECT

WHEN stones are thrown in Mea Shearim at policemen or bus drivers whose company requires them to report for work as soon as the Sabbath is out and the queues begin to build up, the customary explanation is that "it was only children." These children may be boys of 12 or 14, better hands at throwing stones than their elders, but, what is more significant, it is not noticed that they are either reproved or stopped by those who claim not to be responsible for the result. It is not a very far guess from that point to the assumption that the stone-throwers have heard talk that causes them to suppose that their action will be supported by their fathers and the rabbis of the community.

It need not surprise us that a few years later the stone-throwers become yeshiva students, do not hesitate to burn a shop in Tel Aviv of which they disapprove, or launch an attack on the Chief Rabbi — who no doubt disapproves of the shop in question as much as anybody — if he announces a decision that displeases them. We cannot be forced to agree with a rabbi's ruling or with that of a judge if we consider it mistaken, but if public life is not to degenerate into jungle existence the rulings of those legally empowered to make decisions can be challenged only by argument or appeal. A distraught patient or relative who attacks a Kupa Holim doctor for his decision is fined, and a mother of eight who assaults a welfare worker is sent to prison, because it is essential that public officials be free to carry

out their duties to the best of their own judgement. The same privilege must extend to a Chief Rabbi. Yeshiva students have been involved in a long series of violent actions over the past few years, and have invariably erupted into more violence if one of their number was arrested, demanding special treatment as though they were a class privileged to stand above the law. To some extent this illusion has been fostered by the fact that they are exempted from military service, not, as they seem to believe, because they are giving alternative service in interceding for Israel with the Almighty, but because it is felt that the traditional system of yeshiva study could be too seriously disrupted by three years of life outside the sheltered yeshiva framework.

In Bnei Brak there were protests against Chief Rabbi Goren's ruling on the Langer case, but coupled with pleas for responsible behaviour and avoidance of violence. In Jerusalem, a crowd of thousands rent their garments in mourning, an emotion-laden gesture, regardless of the fact that it was liable to inflame immature youths with no familiarity with ordinary life or religious politics. They had also heard Rabbi Menachem Porush, a Knesset Member who is entirely aware of the effect his words are liable to have, call Chief Rabbi Goren a liar over Kol Yisrael in connection with the Langer ruling, and if they do not listen to the national radio because it operates on the Sabbath, they will have heard what was said by word of mouth. No wonder Rabbi Porush was so quick to come to the defence of the yeshiva students when they were sharply warned by Mrs. Meir that they were not exempted from army service in order to fight on the streets.

## ISRAEL PRESS

### Territories debate

Referring to the debate in the Labour Party's Secretariat on the future of the territories, Al Hamishmar (Mapam) and Ha'aretz (non-party) emphasize that the debate revealed a tendency on the part of most Secretariat members for territorial compromise. Among those opposing annexation, Ha'aretz lists Cabinet members Pinhas Sapir, Abba Eban, Yigal Alon and Haim Bar-Lev, and Knesset Member Haim Zadok. The paper stresses that this is the first time that Mr. Bar-Lev has taken a public stand in favour of a state with a Jewish majority. Al Hamishmar writes: "Annexation of the territories, irrespective of whether it is done in one go or in stages, will shut off the option for peace, as well as bring about the loss of Israel's Jewish character. Israel must therefore try and influence Egypt and Jordan in the direction of a peace settlement, and this by stressing the principle of territorial compromise for peace." Noting that the latest Syrian shelling had not been preceded by

any Israeli action, Devar (Histadrut) writes: "By such action, the Syrians are trying to pressure Samrat (Mapam) and Ha'aretz (non-party) to come to their help. However, they are also boasting of their 'victory' in the recent incidents, and Egypt in the position to claim that they are managing very well without her."

Hatzofe (National Religious) says: "A Jewish guard should be placed in the Cave of Machpelah, in order to deter further such attempts. Furthermore the possibility of settlement of Jewish families in Hebron itself should be examined." Charging that desecration of the Tora scroll was the outcome of incitement by the Supreme Muslim Council, She'arim (Fossil Agudat Yisrael) recalls that such incidents had also preceded the Hebron riots of 1929. Convinced that the Military Administration is well capable of punishing the guilty, the paper also requests the Hebron settlers not to take the law into their own hands under the influence of the act of desecration.

## FOREIGN PRESS

### 'N.Y. Times' raps Unesco on Jerusalem

NEW YORK (UPI). — The New York Times, in an editorial yesterday, criticized a recent U.N. vote on archaeological exploration in Jerusalem. The newspaper said: "In another of those empty gestures that have made some U.N. specialized agencies so ineffective in the Middle East, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization's general conference has demanded that Israel halt all archaeological excavation in Old Jerusalem. No matter that the researchers of the past five years since Israel occupied the sectors ruled for 19 years by Jordan, have done more to advance Biblical archaeology than all the work of a century before... It was, of course, the automatic majority of Arab, Moslem and African members which pushed through the anti-Israel resolution by a 54-to-3 vote, with 20 abstentions. Israel just ignores such things, and to its credit the U.S. voted against the measure. Unesco members really wished to further the cause of education, science and culture for which the organization stands, they should stop carping and join in the archaeological explorations now 'under way. Instead of letting irrelevant political factors inhibit scholarly research, they might well offer to organize an international effort to work with the Israelis in studying this crucible of three great religions and civilizations."

## Readers' letters

### DISTRIBUTION OF SHEMEN PROFITS

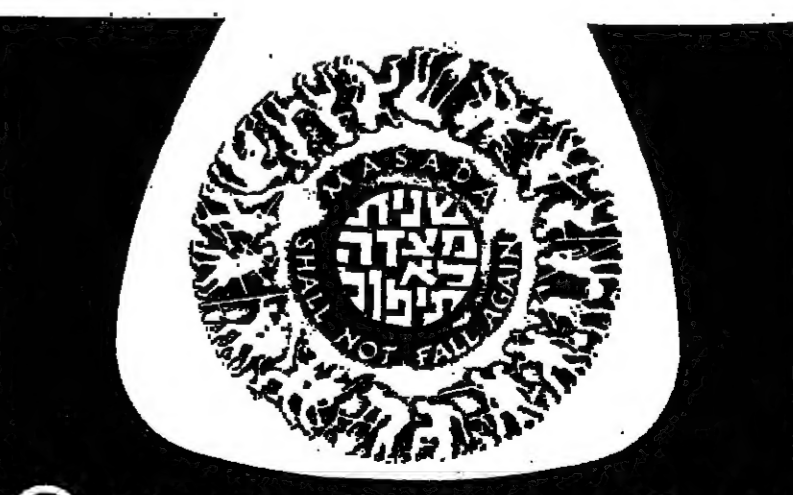
To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post. Sir — The correspondence between an anonymous investor and Shemen's majority shareholder, Hamashir Let's Asia, published by your Economic Editor on November 3, left me with an uneasy feeling. If I accept Hamashir's explanation for the IL950,000 granted to Koor out of Shemen's profits, two questions arise on first sight. a) What actual and concrete services were rendered by Koor for this "management fee" of nearly one million pounds? b) Why does Shemen's management, which costs approximately IL2 million, need any help at all? For this kind of money, one should certainly be able to obtain very good management. If it will need help, would it not be better to replace it? The present results are anyhow not so brilliant. However, it is only too evident

### RAMAT GAN: A GARDEN CITY?

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post. Sir — In the article on Ramat Gan (November 3), I was surprised to read that Mayor Peled states his aim is "to maintain the image of Ramat Gan as a garden city." For those of us who live in Ramat Gan, this image is of the past and which we mention we live in Ramat Gan, we are used to hearing: "It was once a beautiful city..." When I moved to Ramat Gan some years ago, I was delighted to find a flat with an unrivalled view, but now it has been almost completely obliterated by the nearby high-rise buildings that have sprung up. Next door to us, the Copper House, a landmark of Ramat Gan, was pulled down and the contractor who bought the land is planning to build a block of flats on this narrow strip of land which is quite inadequate for such a project. When he does, his first step will be to uproot the giant palm trees at the entrance to the site, to make way for a garage. On our other side is the former Swedish embassy residence, which has been sold for a high-rise building, or alternately, two blocks of flats, one where the villa now stands and the other in the present lovely garden, with its flowering shrubs, fruit trees and thickets of pines, planted in the early days of Ramat Gan. What is particularly disconcerting for the residents of Meale Hatsofim Street is that ours is a dead-end street that was not planned for heavy traffic. In spite of attempts to widen it, it is practically impossible at peak hours to drive along the street even in a small car. It is obvious that addi-

### TV AND RADIO PROGRAMME

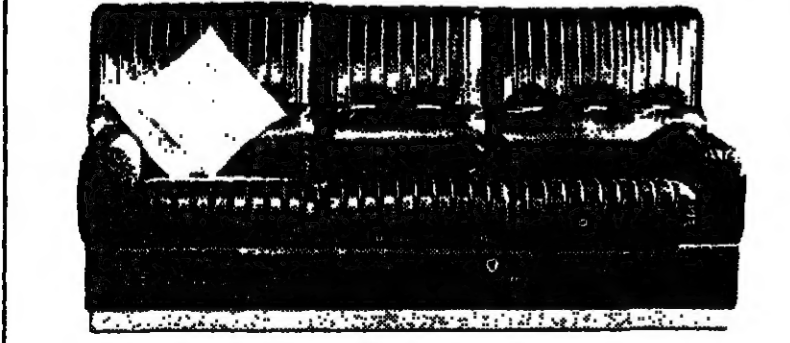
To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post. Sir — There is no synchronization in radio programming. With three different programmes on the air, we often have all three of them giving talk programmes, instead of having one with classical music, one with light music and the third talking. This is particularly disturbing on Saturdays. We also have too much talk on TV. Can't we get something more entertaining than "Moked" and "Boomerang"? They are now increasing the fees for TV and radio, and I wonder why. We should pay at least half the fee to Jordan, for that is where many of us get our entertainment. Others, of course turn to Cyprus or Beirut. MAURIO ABRAMSON Tel Aviv, November 14.



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